

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL MONDAY  
AUGUST 8 HEADED "PRAVDA TO THE RESCUE".

2. SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE NOT RUN SMOOTHLY SINCE  
JIMMY CARTER'S INAUGURATION AND ALTOGETHER TOO MUCH TIME  
HAS BEEN SPENT OF LATE ON MUTUAL RECRIMINATION. INDEED,  
MR. CARTER HAS BEEN GETTING IT FROM BOTH SIDES, WITH A  
FAIR NUMBER OF AMERICANS ASCRIBING THE RUSSIAN PIQUE  
TO HIS INEPTITUDE. SO THERE'S GOOD NEWS IN PRAVDA'S  
LATEST COMPLAINT AGAINST HIM. UNLIKE SOME OF THE PRESI-  
DENT'S JUMPIER AMERICAN CRITICS, THE RUSSIANS ACCEPT HIS  
AVOWED DESIRE FOR AGREEMENTS, ESPECIALLY ON ARMS CONTROL,  
AND ASSURE HIM THAT "DETENTE HAS A FUTURE." IT IS SOME  
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OF HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THEY DO NOT LIKE--AND SOME OF  
HIS ATTITUDES ABOUT WHAT IS FAIR AND FOUL BETWEEN SUPER-  
POWERS TRYING TO KEEP THEIR COMPETITION COOL. FAIR  
ENOUGH.

3. TO DELIVER THIS RESPONSE TO A GENERALLY CONCILIATORY  
SPEECH BY MR. CARTER TWO WEEKS AGO, THE RUSSIANS CHOSE

THEIR MOST PROMINENT STUDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, GEORGI ARBATOV, AN INFLUENTIAL POLITBURO COUNSELOR WITH A DEEPLY VESTED INTEREST IN DETENTE. DON'T OVERDO IT, JIMMY, HE PLEADED; THE ZIGGING AND ZAGGING PLAYS ON SENSITIVE NERVES IN THE KREMLIN; IT WON'T CAUSE A WAR BUT IT COULD LOSE VALUABLE TIME. THE SOVIET LEADERS, HE INSISTED, HAVE BEEN SNIPING AT THE NEW MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE NOT FOR PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE BUT BECAUSE THEY GENUINELY WORRY ABOUT WHERE HE IS HEADED.

4. THIS WAS A FAIR BID FOR CLARIFICATION, EVEN THOUGH WE BELIEVE MR. CARTER HAS BEEN REASONABLY CONSTANT AND PLAIN IN HIS APPROACHES TO MOSCOW. HE THINKS THE AGREED-ON LEVELS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE TOO HIGH AND THE LIMITS ON TYPES OF WEAPONS TOO VAGUE. HE WANTS A WHOLE SERIES OF OTHER AGREEMENTS TO INHIBIT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS. HE WANTS THE RUSSIANS TO CARE MORE ABOUT STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE REST OF THE WORLD AND, WITHOUT CHALLENGING THE LEGITIMACY OF ANY REGIME ANYWHERE, HE WANTS TO CONTINUE TO CALL ATTENTION TO OUTRAGEOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS EVERYWHERE.

5. MR. ARBATOV UNDERSTANDABLY CHALLENGED THE PRESIDENT TO EXPLAIN HOW SOME OF HIS EMERGING MILITARY POLICIES SQUARE WITH HIS ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS. MR. ARBATOV  
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ALSO REMINDED THE WHITE HOUSE THAT VASTLY GREATER TRADE WAS ONE OF THE BENEFITS THAT HARD-HEADED SOVIET LEADERS EXPECTED IN RETURN FOR A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ON OTHER QUESTIONS.

6. THERE IS AMPLE TIME FOR CLOSER EXAMINATION OF THE SPECIFIC ISSUES IN THIS DEBATE. WHAT IS HEARTENING IS THAT SOBER MEN IN MOSCOW NOW FRET ABOUT HOW THEY CAN BETTER UNDERSTAND THIS FELLOW CARTER. WHAT A PLEASANT ANTIDOTE TO SO MANY RECENT AMERICAN CONTENTIONS THAT THE MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW WERE ENTIRELY MR. CARTER'S FAULT--AND ENTIRELY HIS TO STRAIGHTEN OUT.

7. THIS SELF-REPROACH GREW OUT OF A DANGEROUS, EVEN ARROGANT TENDENCY IN AMERICAN THINKING. WHEREAS THE TEST OF POLITICAL GENIUS ONCE LAY IN BEING "TOUGH" TO THE RUSSIANS (MR. NIXON IN A MOSCOW KITCHEN DEBATE, 1959), IT CAME MORE RECENTLY TO LIE IN THE ART OF "MASSAGING" THE RUSSIANS INTO AGREEMENT (MR. NIXON IN A KREMLIN BEDROOM, 1972). THIS PUT A PREMIUM ON THE FACT OF AGREEMENTS INSTEAD OF THEIR QUALITY. STATESMANSHIP CAME TO

BE MEASURED BY THE AMOUNT OF SOLICITUDE SHOWN THE SOVIET LEADERS OR THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY WERE SPARED EMBARRASSMENT. DIPLOMACY CAME TO BE SEEN AS AN AMERICAN EFFORT TO SOLVE SOVIET PROBLEMS AHEAD OF ALL OTHERS.

8. THE LATEST PRAVDA ARTICLE STILL SEEKS TO PLAY UPON THESE AMERICAN SENSITIVITIES. BUT IT IS ENCOURAGING TO FIND A SOVIET SPOKESMAN TRYING TO BE SOLICITOUS TOWARD MR. CARTER AND TO TRAIN HIM TO UNDERSTAND RUSSIAN CONCEPTS OF COEXISTENCE. BOTH SIDES STILL HAVE MUCH TO EXPLAIN-- ABOUT HOW TO TRADE OFF CRUISE MISSILES FOR SUPERMISSILES, FOR EXAMPLE. AND IF THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS APPEAR ONE-SIDED, THERE IS NO LACK OF FORUMS FOR COUNTER PROPOSALS. THERE SHOULD BE NOTHING ALARMING ABOUT MOSCOW'S CONCERNS.

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DEMUNITION OF AN AMERICAN NEGOTIATING POSITION. WHAT HAS BEEN ALARMING IS THE ORGY OF AMERICAN GUILT ABOUT THE RUSSIAN REMONSTRANCES AND THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE ABSENCE OF SWIFT AGREEMENT MARKS MR. CARTER AS A BUMBLER OR WORSE. SO MR. ARBATOV'S CONCERN, PARADOXICALLY, IS REASSURING, AND HELPFUL. CHRISTOPHER

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